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The price of freedom

In Indo-China, where U. S.-armed "free world" forces (above) consisting mainly of German Nazis and impressed N. Africans are retreating near Hanoi, the peoples' fight for freedom on their own soil goes on—and the price is the same. This week is the 18th anniversary of the first fascist assault in Spain. Washington celebrates it by asking Americans to brand those who died defending democracy there—and those who lived to continue defending it—as "traitors."

Ike booms Brownell bills; protests can still stop them

FOR quick passage at this session of Congress of the Brownell bills to destroy unions and individual freedoms, full Administration pressure was on last week and Congressional resistance was low. On July 12 the **Associated Press** reported:

> "Sen. Homer E. Ferguson (R-Mich.) said in an interview that the President applied considerable heat at a White House conference of Congressional leaders last Wednesday to get the anti-Communist program moving on the legislative track."

Ferguson, as chairman of the Senate GOP Policy Committee, called the bills "important matters" that the Republicans need to "make the most of" in Congressional elections this fall. Other sources said the President was preparing a nationwide TV broadcast to speed action on the bills.

HOUSE—NO VOICE RAISED: The House displayed the temper of this Congress when one of the Brownell bills came before it on July 8. It establishes the death penalty for peace-time espionage—for the first time in U. S. history. It also eliminates a present ten-year time limit on prosecution, and provides for registration of persons "who have knowledge of" espionage tactics of a "foreign political party." Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) explained the meaning of this:

> "You will find under this language it is possible to prosecute people for a failure to register when you could not prove the overt acts necessary to be proved in spelling out another offense."

The measure passed the House without a dissenting vote, 323 to 0. In the Senate, chairman William Langer of the Judiciary Committee, acknowledging White House pressure, said he expects all the Brownell bills to be reported out "in the near future."

"BE VIGILANT": In spite of these admissions, there was continued parliamentary trickery to suggest there is no real danger. In the House a joint appeal from the heads of the CIO and AFL for a study commission got temporary consideration. On July 13 the Judiciary Committee tentatively adopted the idea—which would set up a 16-member body to prepare a report for Congress in January—but final action was deferred until later last week.

Protests were rising; one of the strongest to date came from the 200,000-member Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. Calling the Brownell-Eisenhower program "a government 'labor front' like Hitler's," it wrote in its **Trainman News** (7/12):

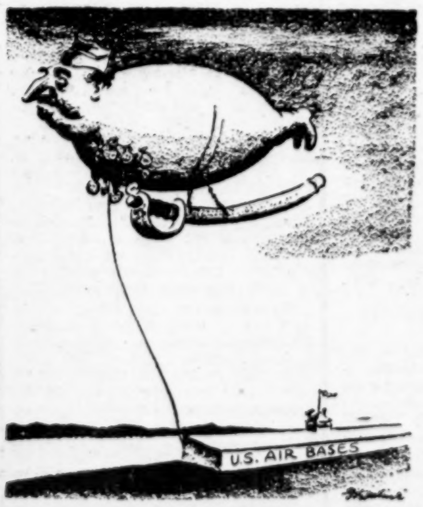
> "Great vigilance is necessary to prevent last-minute sly efforts to slip through bills that may inflict grave assaults and mortal wounds on the American way of life of freedom under a democratic government of laws, with a bill of rights that for over a century and a half has been a beacon of hope to yearners for human freedom everywhere."

It is still not too late to write, wire, phone, visit your Congressman.

The 18th anniversary of Spain

By Tabitha Petran

EIGHTEEN years ago—July 18, 1936—Gen. Francisco Franco, with money, arms and troops supplied by Hitler and Mussolini, set out to overthrow the government of Republican Spain by force and violence. Today Franco is "the anchor man of the Radford line," the chief reliance of Washington's "rim strategy" of atomic-hydrogen war. As Britain and France begin slowly to extricate themselves from Washington's strangehold, paralyzing the Atlantic alliance and foreshadowing its eventual breakup, Franco's importance as a U. S. ally is rising steeply. If Franco, even with U. S. money and arms, seems somewhat like Aesop's frog who tried to puff himself up to the size of an ox, the fact remains that his was the only official voice throughout all Europe, in these last crucial weeks, to sound the alarm against peaceful co-existence and demand total embargo on E.-W. trade.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Dictator Franco's new look.

Last year's U. S.-Spain military alliance pointed to the realignment now taking place. Designed, among other things, to undercut in advance a possible French-Soviet alliance, to counter the British in the Mediterranean, the French in North Africa, it seemed to be directed as much against these U. S. allies as against the U. S. S. R. The only forces ranged beside Washington in the new Anti-Comintern Axis are Spanish, W. German and Japanese, wrote John O'Donnell (N. Y. **Daily News**, 7/7), adding: "Once again, the wheel is coming full circle."

IT STARTED IN SPAIN: If it is, its turning began—reaction's ascendancy in the U. S. today was in a sense won—on the battlefields of Spain or, more correctly, in the chancelleries of the democratic powers during the Spanish War. For the Spanish Republic was killed—as President Roosevelt's Ambassador to Spain, Claude G. Bowers, makes clear in **My Mission to Spain***—not by the Axis armies but by the democratic powers' denial to Spain's legal government of its right to buy arms. Harold Ickes called the arms embargo "one of the black pages of American history" (**The Inside Struggle****). Roosevelt's Undersecy. of State Sumner Welles found "no more cardinal error" in the Roosevelt Administration's entire foreign policy than its "disastrous" Spain policy (**Time for Decision**, 1944).

Bowers, who from the beginning saw and reported the Spanish war for what it was—"a plan for the extermination of democracy in Europe and the beginning of a second world war"—relates that when he returned to Washington at its end, Roosevelt said: "We made a mistake; you have been right all along." In the U. S. this "mistake" contributed to giving the second world war a dual character: military victory over fascism was coupled with the advance of reaction to such positions of power that it could, when Roosevelt died, effect a virtual *coup d'état*, completely reversing his policies in a matter of weeks.

(Continued on Page 3)

Latin American workers call for a halt to the reign of terror in Guatemala

By Kumar Goshal

TO the "surprise" of the N. Y. **Times'** correspondent, Col. Castillo Armas was "elected" President of Guatemala by the five-man military junta which he promptly reduced to three. On July 8 he took office in Guatemala City's marble palace from which his uncle and former boss, dictator Jorge Ubico, was thrown out ten years ago.

Armas invited a military pact with the U. S.; repeated his assurance that foreign investment would "receive full guarantees"; began to "lay legal groundwork" for demanding the surrender of refugees in embassies or neighboring countries; "suspended the agrarian reform law [giving] the impression that the program might not be resumed" (**NYT, 7/11**); continued arresting alleged Communists; shot a judge who supported Arbenz, and said the government would take over the property of Arbenz and his colleagues.

The Chicago **Daily News'** Edwin Lahey felt that "the State Dept. is getting itself a safe, hygienic and honestly anti-Communist government in Guatemala at the cost of a few hundred lives." On July 9, **NYT**'s Sydney Gruson reported that, according to Guatemalan Army officers, "weapons shipped from behind the Iron Curtain . . . were duds, worn out or entirely wrong for use there." On July 11 an **AP** dispatch in the **Times** listed the weapons, reported that according to "the colonel in charge of ordnance purchases [they were] mostly

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Loyalty to petrified opinions never yet broke a chain or freed a human soul in this world—and never will.

—MARK TWAIN, "On Consistency," 1887.

REPORT TO READERS

Let's make the MOST of August

HERE'S A PROPOSITION—there will be five issues of the GUARDIAN in August, beginning with the issue of Aug. 2; we'd like you to take a small bundle-roll of five GUARDIANS each of those weeks and distribute them to your summer friends, co-workers, neighbors and others with whom you are accustomed or likely to discuss life in general.

We'll have to charge you $1 for the month of bundles (postal regulations) but if you can collect a dime a copy for some of the papers you hand around, you can come out at least even and perhaps ahead of the game.

OUR STAKE in this is new circulation. If even one or two of the people you hand papers to each week will subscribe on their own for a $1 trial and/or for the full year, August could become a live month for GUARDIAN circulation and thus confound the experts who say it is the deadest month in the year.

YOUR CONTRIBUTION is the contacting. Most of the people who would, could and should get the GUARDIAN (but don't) live, work, vacation and drink their beer within elbow-reach of the present GUARDIAN readership. These are the people we know you can help us reach—and many will appreciate your introduction.

Just send your name and address with $1 in an envelope addressed to Bundles, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Your bundles will start coming with the Aug. 2 issue (in addition to your regular sub) and will continue through the Aug. 29 issue.

Let's give it a try, shall we?

—THE EDITORS

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THE MAIL BAG

When and how?

JOHNSON CITY, TENN.

Among pamphlets being circulated by the American Friends Service Comm. is "Justice Douglas Appeals for Rebirth of Freedom," the text of Douglas' speech at the Philadelphia Bulletin forum March 3. Douglas ends thus: "We, rather than the Soviets, will become the great revolutionaries of the age. We will show the peasants of Asia their alternative to Communism. We will prove that our ideas of freedom and justice are more powerful revolutionary forces than anything the cheap and cruel creed of Communism can offer."

I ask: (1) WHEN is capitalism going to do all those wondrous things—when it can't even run its own oligarchy for the people? (2) HOW "cheap" or "cruel" have the present Chinese reforms been—having been won at enormous cost, and proving the best government they ever had?

Ernest Seeman

With a United Cigar?

PACOIMA, CALIF.

Speaking of Guatemala, it was interesting to read in the United Press how the United States tried to by-pass the United Nations in behalf of United Fruit.

Nita Nair

Respectable murder

NAKUSP, B. C., CANADA

A Canadian comment on Guatemala: the U. S. A., which executes as criminals those who commit murder on individuals, maintains in a high and honored position of public trust and responsibility John Foster Dulles, the man who murders nations. Big (Bomb) Hearted John!

A. R. Munday

Well, not exactly

CLINTON, ILL.

Memorable the day when Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. warned Russia to keep out of the affairs of the Western Hemisphere, exactly as America has kept out of the affairs of the Eastern Hemisphere.

Now let's see—let's go over that again slowly. . . .

R. E. Roll

The un-lingering memory

NEW YORK, N. Y.

After reading reams of articles on the Guatemala invasion, I have yet to read one word of protest from any of the Zionist organizations. Have they all forgotten that it was little Guatemala that spoke the loudest and longest for Israel when she was fighting for her life; that this noble little country was the first and staunchest defender of the motion to admit Israel into UN? How conveniently memories fail at the hour of need.

Demosthenes

Paging "Vermont Woman"

The Mailbag (6/28) published a letter from Bernard A. Foster of New York, N. Y., referring to "a woman in Vermont" who offers vacation room and board to city folks who will work three hours a day.

We have received inquiries about this from readers, but have mislaid Mr. Foster's original letter. Will Mr. Foster please identify the lady?

How crazy can you get dept.

One problem gives the Federal fiscal men nightmares. They wonder what would happen if a bomb hit the Capitol, they had to borrow money to finance a war, and Congress couldn't convene to boost the debt limit.

—Wall St. Journal, July 2.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Hugh Hardyman, La Crescenta, Calif.

A bouquet for John F.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

After listening last night to the Secy. of State who professes to be a Christian, I am thoroughly satisfied that he knows nothing about the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence and even less about the teachings of Jesus. Here's a little to help you in your valiant effort to get the truth to the people and so bring back our government to the glorious ideal of our revolutionary forefathers.

Fred M. Mansur

The fight for the Corts

BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND

Around July 19 we had intended to arrange an event to recall the execution of the Rosenbergs, in whose behalf we were active a year ago. But in the event, we were involved in another struggle which has united far wider sections of Birmingham's people—for the right of the American doctors Joseph and Mrs. Cort to be allowed to stay and continue their work in Birmingham. The Home Secy.'s servile agreement to hand them over to the persecutions of McCarthy has aroused waves of deep indignation. The people here have begun to see that the struggles of American progressives are in fact our struggle; there is indeed but one world.

Whatever the outcome, new bonds have been established and it is against the background of this awakening of understanding that future Anglo-U.S. relations must be developed.

Avis & Ruscoe Clarke

Britain and the U. S.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In the N. Y. Times magazine July 4 Drew Middleton wrote of the mood of the British people: "Confidence, a quality rare in the modern world, flourishes. . . . There is an elemental, long-term optimism in the British outlook which has no counterpart among the other great peoples of the West. . . . From the foundation of their own confidence in themselves and what they believe in they are saying: Don't panic, don't surrender an ounce of freedom to easy fear. Accept change, remember the past and believe in the future."

James Reston on the editorial page, same day, writes of "the official 'silly season' starting in Washington a little ahead of time this year. . . The fashion seems to be running to political threats." With biting sarcasm he deals with the rantings of Sen. Knowland and Johnson opposing admission of China to UN, a step dutifully seconded by the Me-too champion of the U. S. drive to war, Adlai Stevenson.

The sharp picture that emerges is one of great moral and political descent over here, and of growing moral and political maturity in Britain among people and leaders. What a profound lesson the contrast offers to Americans!

A. Garcia Diaz

Investigate 'em all!

NEW YORK, N. Y.

One aspect of the Dr. Oppenheimer affair remains a puzzle. One member of the Gray board, and Mr. Smyth of the AEC, offered a "counter-interpretation" for each of the incidents cited by the majority, and 26 members of the Inst. for Advanced Study in Princeton almost defiantly expressed "pride in the loyal appreciation of the many benefits we all derive from our association" with Oppenheimer.

Conforming to today's thinking, all these 26 plus 2 are clearly guilty of siding and associating with this man now declared a security risk. So is it not in turn dangerous to associate with, and/or quote, these learned people?

Philip Horn

Dead when it lies down

CLIFTON, N. J.

It is indeed a pleasure to be able to read news which is not bought and paid for by big business. It is really amazing the amount of news which is simply ignored by the money press because it might put their actions in unfavorable light.

Thanks to your work, I was able to find out about the proposed St. George bill and sit down and write my Congressman. I received a reply from him to the effect that the bill is just about dead. I finished a two-page commentary to him last evening protesting the "flood of fascistic legislative proposals which have been streaming out of the present administration for the past several months." Let's all get busy against the "Brownell bills" while there is still time.

Keep up the good work!

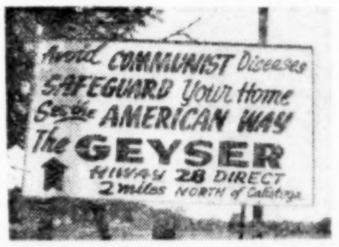
Charles R. Checkley

No measure like the St. George bill—which threatens all left-of-center publications—can be considered "dead" while this Congress is in session. Protests against the Brownell Bills are now so late and so little because of repeated assurances from on high that they had no chance of passage. Ed.

Americanism and geysers

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Riding along Highway 28 north of here, we passed this billboard and were so startled we had to stop and take a picture:



Two signs further on read: "Communistic practice defiles NATURE and AMERICAN WAYS—See a GEYSER Like the Yellowstone"; "Don't Be Decoyed to Communist Breeding Places. Act American. BE AMERICAN—The GEYSER."

Pat Alling

Advice to embezzlers

NEWARK, N. J.

The July 3 Star-Ledger reports the case of a woman in Kansas City who embezzled $6,000 from her employer but "didn't know why." The judge, putting her on probation, advised her to join a church: "I am sure it will benefit you."

Same day's paper reports from Paradise, Calif., that a Baptist pastor embezzled $750 in church funds; the authorities "have been unable to locate him."

And so it goes. . . .

Newarker

Geography without tears

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Enclosed check for renewal and for the fund. We only regret we couldn't make it much more, but we are in the same boat as millions of other workers. Our teenage youngsters enjoy the GUARDIAN as much as any adults. Here's hoping they won't have to learn about geography of other lands through the Dulles Educational System.

Max Pavesic

Buy a Red relic?

DURANGO, COLO.

Well, fellows, I am really in the Red. Lost my billfold and all the money I had, which isn't much nowadays. On top of that we are having a drouth. My crops are burned up and I am about out of water for my stock. And the cattle all have pink eye, which seems to go with the drouth. Some go completely blind; I sure have my hands full.

I have a collection of prehistoric Indian articles from ruins on my own property, including arrowheads, skulls (human), pottery such as bowls, vases, smoking pipes, stone axes, hammers, stone grain grinders called Monnos and Mochatts. Do you think the GUARDIAN and myself could increase our income with this collection? If we did take a notion to display them, I would like to fix it up so McCarthy and his bunch of hoodlums couldn't confiscate them. Am sending in my sub.

Lawrence Harper
Box 905

"The usual drivel"

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

TAKE MY NAME OFF YOUR MAILING LIST. As usual for the commies you assume titles or names to mislead. You are neither "national" nor are you a "guardian" unless it be the guardian of communist propaganda.

. . . It is the usual communist drivel. I see you are still weeping for the traitors Rosenberg. . . . Go to Russia. That is where you belong.

Arene T. Wray, O.D.

Subs and waste baskets

KALAMAZOO, MICH.

If you would publish the opinions of the masses in your Mailbag, they would renew their subs instead of their waste baskets.

Chas. M. Cassell

The GUARDIAN receives more eminently printable letters-to-the editor than any other publication in America. We have no type smaller than six-point. To all readers whose good letters are crowded out, our grateful and apologetic greetings. Ed.

Let Congress know

Since Sen. Knowland proposed that the U.S. should quit UN if UN admitted China, the McCarthyist scare has kept even one Congressional voice from being raised to expose the fraud that Americans "overwhelmingly" oppose China entering UN.

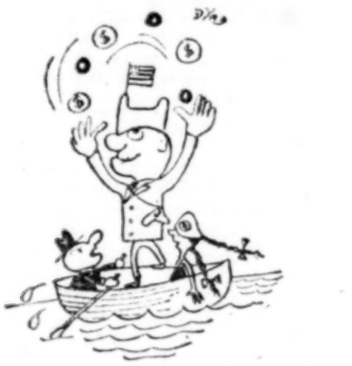
That it is a fraud is indicated in interviews with prominent Louisville citizens in that city's Courier-Journal, (7/8). Pres. H. A. Hooe of Louisville's Building & Construction Trades Council said he could "accept recognition of China or "negotiate with the devil," if it would keep us out of war. Chamber of Commerce pres. A. P. Cochran said "whether we like it or not, it's a fact" that Communists govern China. Louisville Univ. pres. Davidson did not think China's admission "would imply that we give recognition to communism as a way of life and government."

Businessmen need China trade and see it going to rival nations. The type of regime China has is a fraudulent issue. We suggest you write to Congressmen and local editors, and talk to friends and groups, stressing the real issues: (1) UN is not a private club but exists to keep peace through conciliation, and can as little function effectively without China as without the U.S.; (2) U.S. unemployment is nearing 4,000,000 and we need China's 600 million customers.

WAR & PEACE Washington doesn't like anybody; in Europe the feeling is becoming mutual

AS hopes rose around the world for an end to the Indo-China war, a prairie-fire of recrimination, threat, ultimatum, backbiting swept Washington. Summing up the prevailing mood, James Reston wrote (N. Y. **Times,** 9/11):

> "We don't like Red China. . . . We don't like the people who like Red China. . . . We don't like the British and we don't like the French and to judge by the Senate debate . . . we're not overly fond of each other."



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Who's rockin' the Entente Cordiale?"

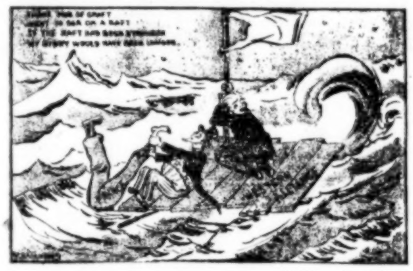
The event motivating this kilkenny outburst was last spring's collapse—on the very brink of intervention—of Washington's war plans in Indo-China. Refusing to face the implications of this setback, and having no policy other than war, Washington now vents its wrath on China whose chief crime is that it is "the only country that ever fought the U.S. to a military stalemate" (Joseph C. Harsch, **Christian Science Monitor,** 7/3).

WIDENING SPLIT: Behind Senatorial threats to pull the U. S. out of UN if China is admitted is the determination to keep open the possibility of restoring Chiang Kai-shek to the Chinese mainland. The President and his Secy. of State backed up this Senatorial play by pledging an all-out fight against China's admission and by failing to pay even lip-service to UN.

Churchill's report to Commons that the time had not yet come to seat China in UN showed the Washington furor successful in forcing temporary postponement of the issue. But the threat and the knuckling under could but widen the Anglo-U. S. split. Most British and W. European newspapers condemned the President's stand on China's UN membership, using perhaps the strongest language yet against the U. S. Popular pressure as expressed in the Commons debate could seriously embarrass the Churchill government, for "there is a growing conviction in Britain as . . . in Europe as a whole that the Western powers must terminate the cold war" (**NYT,** 7/11).

U.S.-British relations were not helped by Washington's refusal (on the ground that international tension has increased) to agree to a date for easing the cold-war embargo on trade with the socialist world—thus blocking many large orders Britain has received from the U. S. S. R., and delaying development of British-Chinese trade. (Labour MP Harold Wilson told Commons on returning from Moscow recently that Russian authorities said: "We are virtually the only country that is honoring this list.")

FRANCE IS ANGRY: Adding to the disarray of the Western alliance was Washington's attempt to undermine the new French government's efforts for a truce in Indo-China. While the virtual U. S. boycott of the Geneva negotiations made some Western delegations feel "that the conference might even proceed more swiftly without the bluff and bluster which characterized Secy. Dulles' earlier brief sojourn" (**N. Y. Post,** 7/12), it angered France. France fears U. S. dissociation from any Geneva agreement will permit its puppet Vietnam government to line up with Washington against the settlement. Dulles' sudden flight to Paris to confer with his British and French counterparts seemed to be still another last-minute effort to sabotage a truce.



Blitz, Bombay

Three men of craft
Went to sea on a raft.
If the raft had been stronger,
My story would have been longer.

By refusing to abandon its dream of crushing China, wrote James Warburg in a letter to **NYT,** Washington was likely to "wreck UN, and wholly disrupt the anti-communist coalition in Europe as well as in Asia." The fact that there are powerful forces in the Administration urging "preventive war" against China and the U. S. S. R. "can no longer be blinked," said the Providence **Journal** (7/5); the only alternative was to recognize the principle of "peaceful co-existence."

THE NEW CRISIS: Recognition of this principle is the more urgent since Washington is approaching a crisis possibly more serious than the crisis in Asia—over its policy in Germany, which "is headed for the rocks . . . the German problem is here, urgent and vital" (**NYT,** 7/11). A mounting chorus from powerful German industrialists, militarists, nationalists is threatening to come to terms with the U. S. S. R. if W. Germany is not granted sovereignty. This is a clear attempt to blackmail Washington, but it also expresses a fundamental contradiction these groups face. They need U. S. support to remain in power; they equally need trade relations with the socialist world, and can achieve German unification peacefully only by coming to terms with Moscow.

The U. S.-British effort to rush through Bonn sovereignty, overriding French opposition, is apt to boomerang. **Le Monde** (7/6), which is close to the new French Premier, said France's policy to W. Germany will harden under the mounting pressure from Bonn, London and Washington. French agreement is êssential to any German settlement. It becomes increasingly clear that the only hope for a settlement lies in reaching agreement with Moscow on German neutrality and unity.

Spain

(Continued from Page 1)

The forces which scrapped Roosevelt's peace policy for one of war preparations and war are today in a terrible hurry, since their policy has in the past year suffered setbacks without parallel in modern history. This policy can now be maintained only if fascism is quickly imposed, the whole Roosevelt era nailed down as treason.

NO. 1 TARGET: The memory of Spain and the anti-fascist unity it inspired are among the first targets of this drive. For the broadest anti-fascist movement of our times was forged around Spain; the 3,000 American volunteers who fought beside the Spanish people (1,800 died there) became its mobilizing force, bringing home to Americans the incredible vitality of the Spanish cause. Spain, the first and at that time the only nation in Europe to resist fascism, inspired millions of Americans who never before held political convictions.

Most of the International Brigaders were drawn to Spain by the truth of the Spanish militia's cry from the war's earliest days:"We are not only fighting for Spain; we are fighting for the whole world." Most, in Bowers' words, were "just anti-fascists eager to fight the forces of Hitler and Mussolini." There were communists among them as there were in nearly all American political activities of importance at that time. (The big lie about communism was then Hitler's weapon, not America's.) Today Washington is trying to brand the few hundred survivors of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade as "traitors."

"TOOLED-UP REPRESSION": The machinery used is the 1950 Internal Security Act fathered by Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.), Franco's quasi-official ambassador in the U. S. (Franco last year gave him the Grand Cross of the Order of Isabel la Catolica for his help in putting over the Spanish base deal.) The Subversive Activities Control Board created under the Act represents, as Laurent Frantz pointed out (**Nation,** 12/12/53), "a significant change of pace . . . from political trials of individuals to political trials of groups and movements. Repression is tooling up for mass production." Among the first groups put on trial before SACB, after the two-year hearing on the Communist Party, were the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

In striking at the VALB, Washington is seeking to destroy a group which has been (in Ickes' words) "in the forefront of all the battles for democracy" of our time. The aim is to make all opposition to Franco, the world's last avowed fascist leader, subversive. This is crucial for Washington at a time when it must turn ever more openly to fascism and will try ever more desperately to resolve the dilemmas of its bankrupt policies by violent action.

HAROLD ICKES
"The black page"

YARDS OF SUBVERSIVES: The VALB is charged with being a "communist-front organization," with having persons in its leadership who are also Communists, with "receiving favorable publicity and support through the Communist Party press" and "supporting and following the position and actions of the CP in its opposition to and campaign against the Franco government of Spain." The guilty verdict is built into the indictment.

Such charges, which make anything the Communists support *ipso facto* subversive, would make subversives of Eleanor Roosevelt, who argued the U. S. case against fascist Spain in the UN General Assembly in 1946; the State Dept., which supported the 1946 resolution condemning Franco; the N. Y. **Times,** which as late as Sept. 28, 1953, declared that "condemnation which is a moral as well as a political one—still stands"; and the AFL and CIO, which both repeatedly demanded a U. S break with Franco.

REWRITTEN HISTORY: To prove the "charges" the government has, since May 2, presented 12 witnesses, including six deserters, four of whom deserted under fire in Spain; the other six are professional or amateur police spies. In addition to all sorts of fantasy alleging that Brigade aims were to sovietize Spain and/or the U. S., the government has tried to rewrite the history of the Spanish War to accord with the official Nazi version. The level of the testimony is suggested by this typical example: sole "proof" for the charge that local VALB chapters were organized by the CP was the testimony of one deserter who had worked with the Chicago Red Squad since 1930 and **in that capacity** sought out CP members to organize local units in Chicago.

Many prominent Americans have offered testimonials to the VALB:

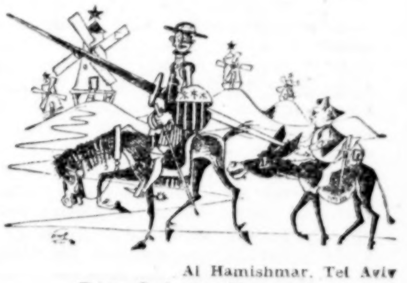
Vincent Sheean—"If the world has a future, they have preserved it."

Louis Bromfield—"The Brigade has . . . become a timeless symbol of man's resistance to exploitation and oppression."

N. Y. **Times** correspondent **Herbert Matthews**—"You cannot dismiss these youngsters with the contemptuous label of 'Reds'. They are not fighting for Moscow, but for their ideals and because they would rather die than see a fascist regime under any shape or auspices installed in the U. S."

THE HARD LESSON: But few, if any, well-known Americans are likely to appear as witnesses for the VALB when it begins to present its defense Sept. 7. It is the nature of this type of attack, as Frantz wrote (**Nation**),

> "... that it tends to isolate each current victim by making people afraid they may incur some associative guilt if they come to his defense. Still it ought not to be necessary for Americans to relearn the hard way the lesson that liberty is indivisible."



Al Hamishmar, Tel Aviv

Don Quixote Ike and Sancho Panza Franco

The 18th anniversary of Spain's defense against fascism will be honored at a VALB meeting in New York July 22 (Hotel Capitol, 8 p.m.). The chance is offered to avoid relearning the lesson the hard way; to show that enough Americans remember Spain to stop the branding as "traitors" of those who represented them in the front lines. In so doing, the broad anti-fascist movement which was born in the Spanish War could be re-forged.

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* MY MISSION TO SPAIN, by Claude Bowers, Simon & Schuster, 456 pp., $6.

** THE INSIDE STRUGGLE, Vol. 2, by Harold Ickes, Simon & Schuster, 768 pp., $6.

"No prediction"—Peurifoy

U. S. Ambassador John E. Peurifoy had the life of the Communist-backed Arbenz administration pinpointed almost to the day.

In late May a reporter asked him when trouble would break out in Guatemala. At the time the country was quiet, and Leftist President Arbenz seemed in complete control.

"I will not make a prediction," the ambassador replied, "but I will tell you one thing. We are making out our Fourth of July reception invitations and we are not including the names of any of the present administration."

—AP from Guatemala, July 5.

THE STRANGE CASE OF DR. OPPENHEIMER

The man behind the bedlam: will he join in 'the bitter public battle of our years'?

By Philip Morrison
Nuclear physicist, Ithaca, N. Y.

IN the last few weeks there have appeared two books centered around the thoughts of the brilliant American physicist, J. Robert Oppenheimer. One* is the text of six lectures delivered by him over the BBC last November and December. The other is the transcript of the hearings before a special board of the Atomic Energy Commission on Prof. Oppenheimer's appeal against the charge of "security risk," brought by officials of the Eisenhower Administration after his 12 years of service in the topmost circles of government science.

This volume, 900 pages thick in its condensed Q. and A. format, is an unbelievable work, a kind of guide to our times. The inherent drama of such a hearing is played upon a stage lighted by the flash of the hydrogen bomb—not for the TV camera—and unravels the lives and thoughts of scores of America's most creative scientists and their administrative colleagues, not the seamy grotesqueries of Cohn and Schine.

HARASSMENT, IGNORANCE, AMBITION: The evil content of the hearing room is all there. The surveillance of trusted officials by "security" agents, the interception of mail and telephone, the recording of private conversation—all are brought out in a new context of harassment. It is painful to read the long, earnest self-analysis of the interplay of ideas and motives, movingly set forth before a petty inquisitor whose interest lies only in recognizing names of persons summoned by some Congressional committee. The learned counsel for the AEC, presumed expert in the ideas of the enemy, seems from his questions never to have heard of the Manchester philosopher Friedrich Engels!

The struggle of personal ambitions, finding their battleground in America's policy of atomic arms, is plain. The service rivalries, the "big bomber" general, scientists with broad moral concern, and those who fit the stereotype of the amoral too well—all are displayed in the long and repetitious text of 40 cross-examinations. There is a well-known American physicist, who remarks matter-of-factly about an even more eminent friend and colleague that "radiological warfare was always something very close to Ernest's heart." There is a probing into personal lives which would be surely indecent were it not so wholly sanctified by the needs of Security.

Those who wish to see how atomic policy is formed can find here very much that ought properly to be secret in any rational definition of what secrecy should mean to a great power. Those who wish to see human motives illumined can see them very well—indeed perhaps better those of the examiner than of the witnesses. The book is a tragedy of our Republic: a perpetual monument to the narrowness, unreason and ignorance of even normally responsible men in this Time of the Toad.

J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER
"Reflective, subtle, sometimes oblique or obscure"

SCIENCE & IDEAS: The other book is as luminous as the first one is dark. Hastily bound and issued by the publisher to catch its author's headline value, it is the very opposite of a hasty popular survey of the basic ideas of modern physics. It is a reflective, subtle, sometimes oblique or obscure, and very much condensed, exposition of the "relations between scientific findings and man's general views."

He regards the growth of science not primarily as the source of the changed conditions of our material life, but as the source of the new way in which men now think of themselves and of the world, a way so much based on the new material conditions themselves. But his main interest is in the history of ideas.

NEW SCIENTIST, NEW WORLD: The argument goes forward swiftly. Beginning in the High Renaissance, and inspiriting men like Jefferson as little as 150 years ago, Newtonian science had a picture of the world. We find that picture hopelessly mechanical to-day; but it was a picture which stood for the success of men in understanding nature, and a picture upon which reasoned effort could hope to found progress in society.

By the day of Rutherford, before the first world war, this picture had been vastly supplemented. The cumulative understanding of the physicist was in Rutherford's possession; he was a new kind of scientist just by virtue of what the past had given him in instruments and in ideas.

Now the nucleus was found, and the world within the atom laid bare. But it was a new world. The atom was not a "solid, massy, hard, impenetrable, movable Particle," as Newton wrote in old age. It was instead the seat of paradox and duality.

MAN CAN KNOW: The elucidation of these paradoxes is attempted, and even well begun, in another of the lectures. The path is that pioneered by Prof. Niels Bohr, which stresses the fact that the ordinary mechanical ways of common-sense thought are not so much inadequate as contradictory if we apply them to the world of the atom. We are forced into a mode of description far subtler, which allows us to describe the atom only in the context in which we choose to measure it. One set of concepts, precise and complete for one experimental set-up, becomes ambiguous and inappropriate for another. No single simple account will work for all we wish to say.

In the last lecture, a brief, eloquent statement of faith, Oppenheimer tries to found on the life of a scientist his own views of democratic theory. No man can know all things, but he can know anything. This equality in diversity is his highest touchstone of a good society. For science and society the widest relationship is that of the birth of power in science. That the "power to change is not necessarily good" begins his one reference to the bomb. It is a "special mark . . . of our age" that "man's preoccupation with improving his lot" must be made to harmonize with the need to "eliminate organized violence between nation and nation."

INTO THE BATTLE? This is a book work reading. It is imperfect. There are places where you and I must deeply disagree with it. The mark of the broadcast is on it; it is far too brief and staccato for its gravity and scope. The characteristic charged eloquence of Oppenheimer's style is present everywhere, usually precise and beautiful, but sometimes over-rhetorical, mannered, even precious. The bibliography typically includes only primary works, all so difficult as to be of no help to the average reader.

All these are consistent flaws, those of an extraordinary man long used to the secret affairs of state, and little used to the wider battle-ground of ideas. It is to be hoped that he will not remain in the seclusion of the Institute, but will more and more come to take part in the bitter public battle of our years. Both the cause of peace and light and the insight of Prof. Oppenheimer would prosper by a growing interaction.

* *SCIENCE & THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING, by J. Robert Oppenheimer. Simon & Schuster, N.Y. 120 pp. $2.95.*

In Canada, U.S. psychologist flays 'blind, stupid anti-intellectualism'

By D. S. Daniels
Guardian special correspondence

MONTREAL

IT is "almost impossible" for scientists' congresses to be held in the U. S., Dr. Edward C. Tolman told delegates to the 14th Intl. Psychologists Congress here last month. "The U.S.," he said, "is no longer looked upon as a logical place to hold scientific meetings, such as the Congress." (The convention was to have been held in New York, but Washington restrictions resulted in the shift to Montreal.)

Dr. Tolman, dean of American psychologists, was U.S. co-chairman of the gathering of 1,200 delegates from 29 countries including the Soviet Union. He told them:

"I am profundly disturbed at the attacks upon the probity and usefulness of scientists which are going on in my country. . . . The case of J. Robert Oppenheimer is but an illustration of our blind and stupid anti - intellectualism which is undoubtedly going to have a most harmful effect upon the scientific progress in the U.S. and upon the willingness of our scientists to work for their government."

His remarks were loudly applauded by the psychologist delegates, most of whom were from the U.S. He spoke from personal experience. A scientist for over 30 years, he was fired by the Univ. of California in 1950 when he refused to sign a "loyalty oath." A two-year battle ended in reinstatement.

THE RUSSIANS SMILED: Called "good-natured Russians" by the tory **Gazette**, the Soviet delegates won many Canadians over when, like so many visitors before them, they overstayed their tour of historic Quebec City and missed their train to Montreal. A photograph showed them smiling. (Photographers are usually diligent to show only "dour" Russians).

Their six scientific papers, received with applause and respect, dealt mainly with research work based on the studies of Ivan Pavlov. Scientists from non-socialist countries also working on conditioning factors were particularly interested to see whether they and the Soviets were following the same paths.

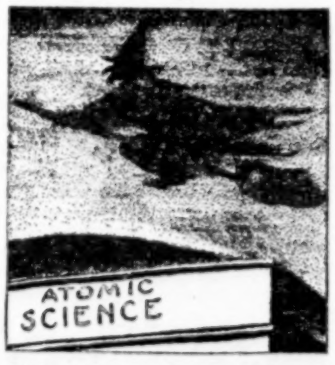
"Their work is parallel and complimentary, but it uses a different formulation," said a French psychologist. Another difference noted was that in the West conditioning is apparently studied in connection with wider areas of psychological reasearch.

A START IS MADE: The Congress' only marring feature were some remarks by Prof. Gregory Razran of Queen's College—a combined attack on Pavlov and on the Russians for following Pavlov's teachings and for not following them. Prof. A. Leoniev, leader of the Soviet delegation, calmly ignored the vitriolic speech: he merely told his fellow-scientists that Razran was not interpreting Pavlov correctly "but I shall leave that to his conscience." The warm response to him and all the Russians indicated their listeners felt a start had been made for better understanding of Soviet psychology and they were ready to study it further.

War and its lasting horrors were brought to the delegates' attention when Dr. Von Bracken of Braunschweig, W. Germany, said that "in Germany children of 12 years still suffer nightmares as a result of war and find it hard to concentrate on lessons."

PERSISTENT "EGG-HEADS": At the end of the congress Dr. Tolman spoke out again on "the rising tide of anti-intellectualism," from a platform at McGill University where he was given an honorary doctorate. (Said McGill Dean H. N. Fieldhouse: "It is not too much to say that his work, and the work of men whom he has trained, have set the standard of psychological research in the U. S. for two decades.")

Ascribing anti-intellectualism to the fact that the world's people "are largely dominated by fear," Tollman called this one of the most disgusting and dangerous traits. When we are too afraid or too angry, we want to take it out on somebody else. We want to believe that mother, father, teacher is to blame. In such moments we assert that it is the intellectuals, the scientists, who are doing us in. We say let's investigate them. Let's damn them as 'egg-heads.' Let us reject these leaders that try to make us think, close our eyes and forget that we are headed for Armageddon.



Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"Strange age we are living in."

". . . But it has been shown that if a human wants some positive goal and wants it positively enough, then, though fear will get in the way and tend to lead him into distorted, narrow perception and into scapegoating, such fear and scapegoating will not wholely prevail.

"If our need as human beings for a liberal society be passionate enough, if our demands for freedom, for fair play, for honesty, for open minds, and overwhelming—then, whatever our fears, we will continue to seek the truth."

THIS AMERICAN CHILD WANTS TO KNOW:

Will 90 years plus 10 equal freedom for all — in schools, jobs, housing?

THE U.S. Negro community's long fight to share democracy equally with the white majority is mirrored in **Ninety Years Plus Ten Equals Freedom,** 1953 report by the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People to its 45th annual convention at Dallas. The NAACP freedom fight is reviewed up to now, and plans are suggested for achieving "the goal of an integrated American society free of racial, religious or national-origin handicaps" by 1963—100 years since Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation freed the slaves. These are some of the many handicaps Negroes still face:

Education

Georgia's State Education Commission, headed by Gov. Talmadge, is seeking ways to keep jimcrow public schools despite the May 17 U.S. Supreme Court decision. This Commission recently invited to its next meeting representatives of Georgia's NAACP. A special delivery letter declining the invitation recommended to the Commission that:

- Pupils not be favored or discriminated against because of race, color or creed;
- Children in no event be required, for reasons of race, color or creed, to attend schools outside the boundaries in which they live;
- All appointments, assignments, promotions and ratings in the school system be based on experience, qualifications and tenure and not on race, color or creed;
- All schools be used to maximum efficiency without regard to race, color or creed.

SIX TALMADGITES: Four of Georgia's seven candidates for Governor have pledged the Commission to oppose integration. Voters at the polls this fall would have been prevented from obeying the high court decision if no anti-jimcrow candidate had finally entered the race. A 44-year-old grandmother and Sunday school teacher qualified at the last moment to run on an anti-segregation platform. She is Mrs. Grace W. Thomas, an Atlanta attorney. All six men have promised to use Gov. Talmadge's "private school" scheme to abolish public schools: tuition from state funds to each pupil in a segregated "private" school.

At a Southwide leadership-training conference, Lake Junaluska, N.C., late in June, 317 white college students approved this resolution:

1. "State support and implementation of the Supreme Court's ruling"; 2. Individual and collective church support of integration; 3. Support of persons and groups who take a definite stand on integration in local Methodist bodies.

Many delegates wired their Governors to "take a courageous and Christian attitude" toward the court's ruling.

WORKSHOP APPROACH: Atlanta newspaper editor Ralph McGill once wrote that segregation was on the way out, but "the problem of the future is how to live with the change." Two Tennessee institutions are trying this summer to teach white and Negro Southerners to solve that problem.

Highlander Folk School—founded at Monteagle in 1932—has concluded a workshop for community leaders' study of areas where transitions have been made; "economics and geography of discrimination"; history of segregation; "moral and mental limitations imposed on those who discriminate and who are discriminated against"; human-relations progress in the South during the past year; "problems of tenures in integrated faculties," and state officials' attitudes toward the decision. At Highlander, a 200-acre Cumberland Mountain farm which supplies its own food, Negro and white students share sleeping quarters in the main farmhouse or in cabins in the woods.

Fisk University opened at Nashville June 28 its 11th annual "Institute of Race Relations" to go through July 10. The institute invited lecturers to talk on the general topic of "Meeting the Challenge of Integration."

Employment

The N.Y. **Amsterdam News** (6/26), in "Jimcrow, N.Y. Style," has finished a survey to determine "the cost of being colored" in N.Y.C.. The first article pointed out:

- Officials of the Joint Board of Dressmakers, branch of the 100,000-member Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union, cannot name a single Negro working as an executive in the garment district—"because there is none. . . . There are no Negro buyers, salesmen, or firm representatives. In short, they are excluded from the better-paying jobs."
- "There are more than 150,000 New Yorkers on the N.Y. waterfront. . . . On the docks colored workers continue to echo the charge of being 'last hired and first fired.' Despite the fact that 1/5 of N.Y.'s 30,000 longshoremen are colored, not one is in a policy-making position."

A.S.P. Workshop Photo

'OVER-CAUTION": The Natl. Urban League, working for better housing and social services for Negro newcomers from the South but mainly to get them jobs, was founded 44 years ago to

> ". . . get trained Negro social workers and then to interest employers of labor and union officials; establish connections with various local Community Chests for the support of local Negro community organizations, [trying] to persuade public and private institutions barring Negroes to open their doors" (Pittsburgh **Courier, 7/3**).

A simmering stew of discord in NUL boiled over on June 17, when (**ANP,** 6/19) "Theodore Brown, former board secy., was formally dropped . . . because of what he termed his 'refusing to be a rubber stamp.'" The board (38 white, 22 Negro), headed by City Investing Co. pres. Robert W. Dowling, lost in quick succession two additional Negro members—Dr. George D. Cannon, Harlem physician, and Federal Customs Court Justice Irvin C. Mollison. Both resigned. Cannon criticized "the League's cautious, social-work approach." Mollison charged in his resignation letter that the League and its executive staff had

> ". . . refused to co-operate with the NAACP and other reputable organizations in the achievement and fulfillment of worthwhile objectives for the benefit of Negroes generally. [It took no effective steps] to protest openly the housing discrimination practiced against Negroes in Levittown, in Bucks County, Pa., and Long Island, N.Y., or by Fairless Hills Village in Bucks County, or by the insurance-company-owned housing projects in N.Y.C."

Housing

Eighteen Savannah (Ga.) Negroes petitioned the federal court to outlaw jimcrow at local Fred Wessels Homes. The Savannah Housing Authority answered that its discrimination policy, instead of violating the 14th Amendment (as claimed by petitioners), upheld it. The U.S. Constitution, said the Authority, guarantees white Georgians the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; the right would be violated if Negroes moved in.

A Negro, Oliver Ming, has sued for a declaratory judgment and an injunction against the Sacramento (Calif.) Real Estate Board and 18 realty companies and persons, including 18 "John Does," for refusing to sell Negroes any of the dwellings they have built with the aid of federal funds. Ming asks $5,000 damages because he was rejected when he sought to buy a house built and advertised for sale by defendants.

CALENDAR

Chicago

PROGRESSIVES this is **YOUR** theatre! **CINEMA ANNEX**, Madison near Kedzie. See daily listing under "movies" "West."

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Los Angeles

JOHN W. POWELL, reporter, foreign correspondent, former editor and publisher of **China Weekly Review**, will speak on "The China Market: 600 Million Customers," on Wed., July 26, 8 p.m., at the First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St. Admission: 50c.

San Francisco

EARL ROBINSON entertains at IPP's Summer Cabaret on Sat., July 24, 8 p.m., at Richelieu Hotel, Van Ness & Geary. Performances at 9 & 11 p.m. Donation: $1.

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TVA in mortal danger as Cadillac boys plot disastr

By Lawrence Emery

EISENHOWER'S Cadillac Crusaders were busy last week at the biggest steal of all: the acquisition by private industry of all atomic energy development which the people of the U. S. have paid for at a total cost to date of more than 12 billion dollars. As a sidelight to this mammoth raid on the public domain, a move is also afoot to use the Atomic Energy Commission as an instrument to cripple the Tennessee Valley Authority and turn it over to private interests.

Pending in the Senate, with a test vote due late in the week, was the Cole-Hickenlooper bill that would amend the Atomic Energy Act to let private industry take over atomic patents and properties now held by the government and set up a monopoly in this most fabulous of human achievements. All of labor, all public power groups, most farm organizations were fighting the move, but the battle—the outcome of which will have the most fundamental and far-reaching effect—got scant notice in most U. S. newspapers.

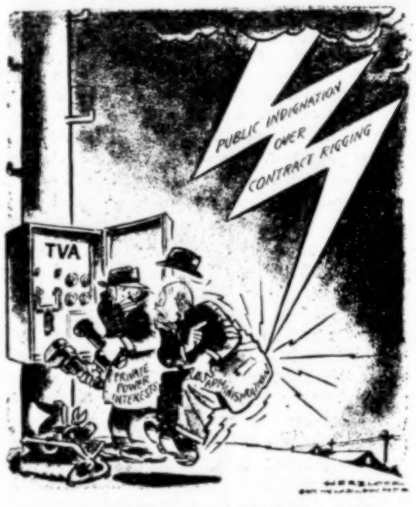
20 YEARS, NO THANKS: TVA was chosen as the place for the entering wedge for the colossal looting. Big Business has never forgiven this greatest monument of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. When Big Business candidate Eisenhower needed votes, he praised TVA, pledged to maintain and operate it at "minimum efficiency." After he got the votes, he denounced TVA as "creeping socialism."

First step was to get rid of board chairman Gordon Clapp, who was associated with TVA since its inception in 1933 and was totally dedicated to it. Eisenhower permitted his term to expire without a "thank you" for 20 years of devoted effort for the government.. After newsmen made a point of the slight, he wrote a belated note of "best wishes for the future." Clapp on his part had this to say in his goodbye to TVA employes:

> "In the months and years ahead don't let little minds or the greedy intimidate or enchant you or divert you from your service to the public interest."

PHILOSOPHY'S THE THING: Eisenhower has not yet named a successor to Clapp, but has announced he wants a man who agrees with his "philosophy" of government. Such an appointment is difficult, because all TVA employes must swear an oath of belief in the "wisdom and feasibility" of the project. Clapp commented:

> "If the stated objectives and purposes of the TVA Act are not in harmony with the President's general philosophy of government, then I would think the President should move to amend the TVA Act and not try to change it by indirection with the appointment of someone who would take an oath to uphold the Act and yet be expected to defeat the feasibility principle."



Herblock in Washington Post

"But how do we turn this off?"

He warned that a chairman "with this kind of split allegiance to conflicting philosophies" could create enough internal disorder to "tear the TVA board apart," and said Eisenhower was paving the way for TVA's destruction. On the Clapp dismissal, the Madison (Wis.) **Capital Times** had this to say:

> "The President's handling of this whole affair is another example of the mediocrity of the Eisenhower Administration and the extent to which the country is now in the grip of a financial plutocracy."

"FIGHT FOR TVA'S LIFE": Eisenhower's next step set off one of the hottest fights in this session of Congress: he ordered the Atomic Energy Commission, which uses vast amounts of TVA power, to enter into a 25-year contract with a combine of private utilities which would sell 600,000 kilowatts of electricity to TVA to make up for an equal amount TVA supplies to the atomic plant at Paducah, Ky. The private interests would build a $107,250,000 steam plant at West Memphis, Ark., and over the life of the contract would charge the government from $90 to $150 millions more than TVA rates would amount to. At the end of that time they would own the plant. As Sen. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.) put it:

> "The public will foot the bill while the private utilities get a free ride. At the end of the ride, the private utilities will own the automobile paid for by the taxpayers."

The Washington **Post**, which supported Eisenhower, called the proposal

> ". . . mischievous . . . an uneconomic and imprudent arrangement, certain to prove costly to American taxpayers. . . . In short, the AEC, which does not now need additional power, is being used, as Sen. [Albert] Gore [D-Tenn.] put it, 'to prevent the TVA from building more capacity.'

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RELIGION

U.S. churchmen gird to fight menace to religious freedom

LAST July the House Un-American Activities Committee spread scare stories about thousands of "communists" in the Protestant and Jewish churches, began a probe into this field. A lull followed, during which several top churchmen and church bodies attacked the probe in strong terms. These counter-attacks seemingly cooled off the probers—especially the broad demand for perjury action to be taken against professional FBI and witch-hunt witnesses who testified against probed churchmen. The assault on religion, contrary to the First Amendment, was an issue in the recent primary in Peoria, Ill., when churchmen joined with labor and farmers in a try to oust Un-AAC chairman Velde (R-Ill.). Velde, backed by big business and liquor interests, won the primary and is likely to be returned to Congress and to resume the hunt for church witches.

HARVEY MATUSOW

Did he lie? Was he sorry?

Since the July probe ended, a few churchmen banded in a provisional committee have been working to combat the menace to church freedom. Last week, in the first issue of a monthly **Religious Freedom News,** the group announced formation of the Religious Freedom Committee, Inc., with 160 members in 30 states, to continue the job as long as the threat continues.

CHURCHMEN vs. LIARS: The provisional group had, the publication said, already conducted a fourfold program: preparing a digest and analysis of the 1953 hearings; providing anti-Velde forces in Illinois with facts to fight with; requesting the House Rules Committee to inform the House that the Un-AAC had misled it in saying it had "conducted no investigation of subversive infiltration of the clergy or religion and no such investigation is contemplated"; urging some of the religious victims to press the Atty. General for perjury action against the professional witnesses.

The newly-formed committee (118 E. 28th St., N. Y. C. 16; Janice M. Roberts, secy.) will seek to enlist as many churchmen as possible in a campaign to see that Congress respects the first clause of the First Amendment, and provide legal advice and defense for persons called in the future before investigating committees "on matters involving the free exercise of their religion." It will continue to work for perjury action to be taken against the informer witnesses, and "let the public know they are lying."

The Committee's three national co-chairmen are the Revs. Paul Caton (Halsted St. Methodist Church, Chicago) and Lee H. Ball (Methodist minister of Irvington, N. Y.) and Rabbi Oscar Fleishaker of the Tri-City Jewish Center, Rock Island, Ill. The 35-member natl. exec. committee includes Presbyterian, AME Zion, Congregational, Lutheran, Church of the Brethren, Friends, Episcopal, Reformed, Baptist and Unitarian churchmen and women and several rabbis.

SOMEBODY'S LYING: Latest turn in the war between churchmen and professional witnesses came July 7 in New York, at the Subversive Activities Control Board hearing on whether the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship must register as a "Communist front." The Rev. William Howard Melish, acting minister of Brooklyn's Holy Trinity Church and former Council chairman, flatly contradicted under oath the statement by ex-**Daily Worker** editor Louis Budenz that Melish was a Communist. Also called untrue by Melish were assertions that the Council was financed, dominated or in any way controlled by the Communist Party. The same testimony, including a flat denial of Budenz' charge that he was a Communist, came from Council director Rev. William B. Spofford, Episcopal minister of Tunkahannock, Pa.

The Un-AAC convened July 12 to question another ex-Communist witness, Harvey Matusow, about recent statements attributed to Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam whom the committee probed for "sponsoring Communist fronts" last year. Oxnam was quoted as saying that Matusow—who claims to have "identified" 180 persons as Communists in a series of witch-hunts—had twice told him he was sorry he lied before Congressional committees. Matusow denied it, said if Oxnam was correctly quoted he was "a dishonest man."

'Who's gonna investigate the man who investigates the man who investigates me?'

The once-popular progressive song was recalled to mind July 8 when Paul Crouch, one of the ex-Communist "professional witnesses" against whom churchmen, unionists and others have insisted perjury proceedings should be brought, demanded an investigation of Atty. Gen. Brownell on whose payroll he has been for many years. He said that in looking into his (Crouch's) reliability Brownell and his deputy Wilitm P. Rogers had "given aid and comfort to enemies of the U. S.," since throwing any doubt on Crouch's testimony would mean reopening of some 60 hearings and trials at which he has testified.

Crouch's demand reportedly "caused confusion" among staffs of the Jenner and McCarthy committees who were asked to act against Brownell. Crouch, complaining his civil liberties were jeopardized by any Justice Dept. probe of his reliability, appealed for aid to the American Civil Liberties Union.

Accessories to conspiracy

Last April a San Francisco jury found C
munist officials, and a young student, Shirley
leader Robert Thompson and Sidney Stein—the
Act conviction, the latter being under Smith
arrested. Stein and Coleman received three-ye
Kremen one year. Bail for the first three hav
they are still in jail. A defense committee (22
cisco) is seeking funds for the bail, and for the

Some of the unusual issues in the case ar
article by Laurent B. Frantz in the June issue

THE jury was asked to infer not one, but fo
with knowledge that a federal warrant h
conspiring to harbor Stein; (3) being "acces
son's previous conspiracy to advocate violent
such accessories. . . .

Still more interesting questions will arise
rived offenses to their source, the offense of
victed and Stein indicted. This source is "c
which is proved by examining beliefs to dem
to say, at some time in the future, things th
is already one step removed from action. Co
removed from action and one step removed
third step, accessory after the fact to consp
conspiracy to be accessory after the fact to
peals will be watched for an indication of ho
be in this version of "The House That Jack B

A problem more than legal is highlight
tention that the defendants "harbored" becau
Moral questions are also involved when pe
which they were impelled by a conviction th
is an issue the nation has not had to face
of the abolitionists and their "underground r

A St. Paul's (N. H.) oarsman helps launch a
the famed Henley (England) regatta in whic
three top events including the Grand Challeng
top eight-oar crew. A Mass. Institute of T
Challenge Cup from the Royal Navy. A Yu
Soviet entry for the Diamond Sculls elimina
final. Weather was worst in memory; squalls

strous atomic giveaway

. . . It is a fight for TVA's life."

TENNESSEE BLASTS: Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) called the order "bad business, bad government, bad morals" and urged the Senate to stop this "administrative monstrosity." Rep. Joe L. Evins (D-Tenn.) denounced it as a "brazen deal." Sen. Lister Hill (D-Ala.) said:

> "The Administration is sacrificing the national defense in order to serve the selfish interests of the private power lobby."

Early this month Sen. William Langer (R-N. D.) conducted hearings before a Senate anti-monopoly subcommittee he heads; he found "probable cause" to question the contract and urged a halt to the deal:

> "The proposed contract should not be consummated and no further negotiations be had until the Subcommittee has had time to complete its hearing and submit its report."

"PREPOSTEROUS & BIZARRE": The Langer hearings brought out two startling points. One was that a New York financial group, which had offered to build the plant for a straight fee and turn it over to the government at the end of the contract period, had been presented with specifications which made it impossible for them to bid on the job. Said a spokesman for this group:

> "If this doesn't beat the Teapot Dome, I'll eat my hat."

Then it developed that the Southern combine chosen by the Administration to build and own the plant had never seen the specifications—which nevertheless were tailor-made for it and designed to freeze out any competitors. Said Rep. Clifford Davis (D-Tenn.):

> "I am amazed. The idea that the President of the U.S. would order the signing of a contract in the absence of bid specifications is a display of gross irresponsibility. This absurd manner of conducting the government business is shocking."

Sen. Wayne Morse (Ind.-Ore.) saw the whole thing as more than "a giveaway; it's a surrender." To Sen. Hill the deal was "astonishing, preposterous, fantastic and bizarre."

THE FREE ATOM: Bizarre or not, the Cadillac Crusaders were intent on using the AEC to crack open TVA for the private utilities, and then to turn all atomic energy development over to private business.

Last May 11 an Electric Consumers Workshop in Washington adopted a basic resolution:

> "No patents, licenses or other device would be permitted to transfer the basic rights in atomic power or its applications away from the people of the nation."

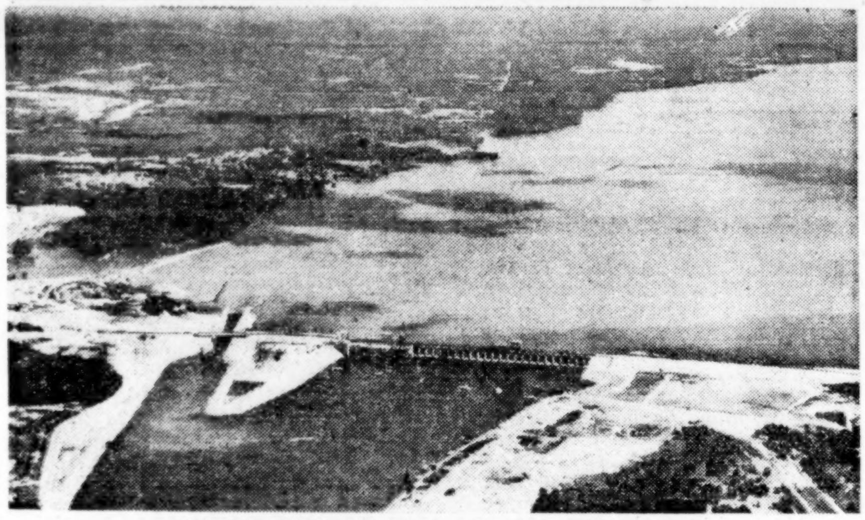
But later the same month the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers issued a 30-page pamphlet entitled: "For Peace-Time Progress . . . Free the Atom." Walker Cisler of the Detroit Edison Co. was quoted:

> "I believe that private industry ought now to put its shoulder to the wheel in carrying forward atomic energy development. Private industry has great resources, in experience, in manpower, in financial resources. Certainly it has been the history of industry that once an opportunity and a development gave promise, it would move forward."

WILL CONGRESS MOVE? So far the AEC has been split three to two on these basic issues; the two Eisenhower appointees, including Chairman Lewis L. Strauss, are strongly in favor of the Big Business Crusade. But at the end of this month the term of a Truman hold-over expires and another Eisenhower appointee will give Strauss a working majority.

Strauss has already arranged with one private utility, the Duquesne Light Co. of Pittsburgh, to develop with the government an atomic plant to produce electricity. On July 12 he announced that North American Aviation, Inc., will participate in another government-sponsored plant.

The AEC itself is now a party to the plot to give TVA and atomic energy to private interests. Only the Congress can now stop this biggest, most disastrous give-away of them all.



BUILT BY THE NEW DEAL FOR ALL THE PEOPLE
Now Eisenhower's Crusaders are handing TVA to the power trust

---

iracy to advocate

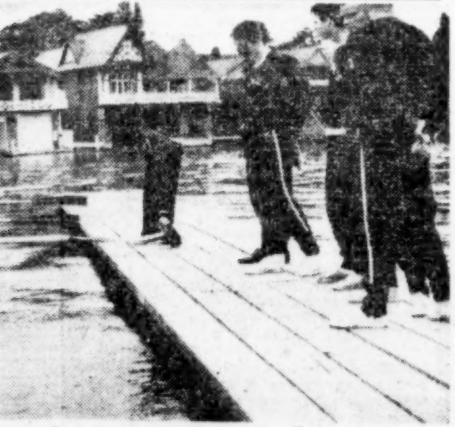
found Carl Ross and Sam Coleman, Com-
Shirley Kremen, guilty of "harboring" CP
Stein—the former a "fugitive" from a Smith
r Smith Act indictment but not previously
three-year sentences, Ross two years, Miss
hree having been set at a total of $155,000,
ittee (228 McAllister, Rm. 201A, San Fran-
d for the appeal which is being undertaken.

e case are outlined in this excerpt from an
ne issue of the California monthly, Frontier.

e, but four offenses: (1) "harboring" Stein
arrant had been issued for his arrest; (2)
ng "accessories after the fact" to Thomp-
e violent revolution; (4) conspiring to be

will arise out of the relation of these de-
ffense of which Thompson had been con-
rce is "conspiracy to advocate," a charge
s to demonstrate that the believers intend
things they have not yet said. Advocating
ction. Conspiracy to advocate is two steps
removed from speech. This case adds a
to conspiracy to advocate, and a fourth,
fact to conspiracy to advocate. These ap-
ion of how many verses there are going to
at Jack Built."

ighlighted by prosecutor Schnacke's con-
d" because they were "good Communists."
when persons are prosecuted for acts to
iction that what they did was right. This
to face on any large scale since the days
ground railway."



aunch a Soviet shell for a trial spin before
in which Soviet scullers entered five, won
Challenge Cup by 2½ lengths from Britain's
te of Technology eight won the Thames
y. A Yugoslav single sculler outrowed the
elimination, but lost to a Britisher in the
; squalls blew an umpire into the Thames.

Guatemala

(Continued from Page 1)

German-made and nearly all had seen use but still serviceable."

THE TERROR: In a July news release from Mexico, the Latin American Confederation of Workers (CTAL) accused Ambassador Peurifoy and U.S. FBI agents of directing in Guatemala a reign of terror "bordering on the pathological." The CTAL reported:

> "Trade unionists, peasants active in the agrarian reform movement and democrats in general are being tortured by having the skin of the soles of their feet removed and their testicles cut off, [then being disposed of] with hand grenades or by shooting. . . . The list [of those assassinated by feudal landlords and reactionaries] grows longer—Felix Moreno, Gen. Secy. of the Union of the United Fruit Co.; Luis Gudiel; Herminio Duque; Ildefonso Veras; Aide de Veras, Gen. Secy. of the Guatemalan Women's Alliance; Antonio Molina, of the Texaco Workers Union. . . . [In] Malacatan, near the Mexican border, all the municipal councillors of Ayuntamiento were shot.
>
> "Bands of 'anti-Communists,' with police and Army complicity and protection, [have sacked] homes of democratic leaders, headquarters of democratic political parties and unions. . . . The Guatemalan National Radio constantly carries messages from the pulpit inciting the extermination of democrats—a logical consequence of the role played by the Papal Nuncio in the Guatemalan crisis. Signs, with an obvious Franco flavor, are being painted all over the city, saying 'Religion Triumphs,' and 'God, Country and Liberty. . . .' "

The CTAL called on all organizations and trade unions to

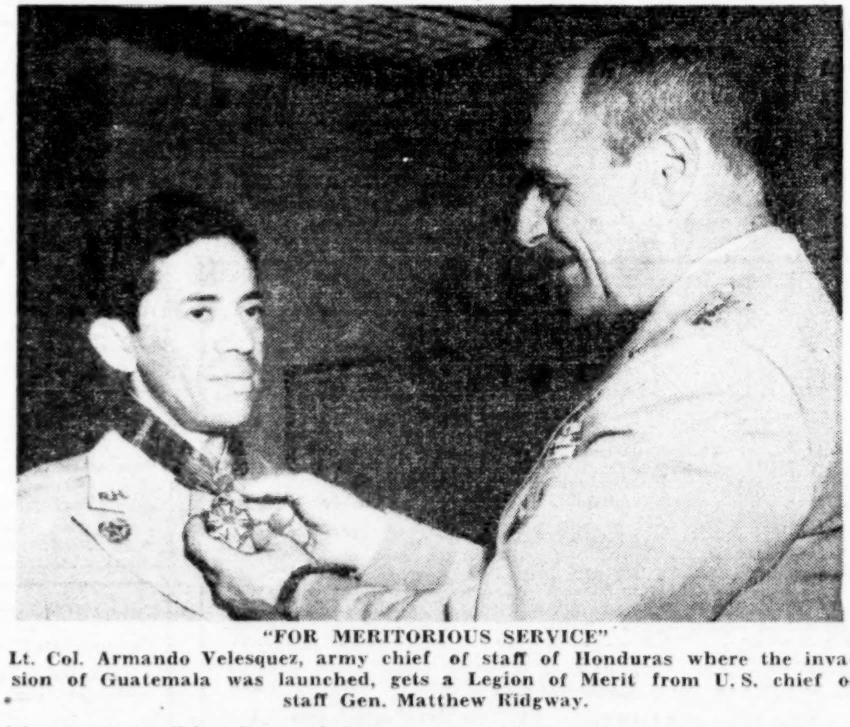
- Protest to the Guatemalan government, urging an end to the terror and respect for democratic and trade union rights;
- Speak out in defense of the right of asylum.

THE CLEAN HOUSE: On July 9 Mexico formally requested safe-conduct for several who took asylum in its embassy, including former President Arbenz, his wife and two youngest children, former Foreign Minister Toriello, Communist leader Jose Manuel Fortuny and former Natl. Agrarian Bank president Alfonso Bauer Paz. Salvador asked safe-conduct for all political refugees in its embassy, including former agrarian reform administration head Alfonso Martinez Estevez. Armas was determined to hold Arbenz and Martinez Estevez, whom he accused of complicity in the assassination of the 1949 Presidential candidate Col. Francisco Arana. Over 1,000 political refugees accused of being Communists or "sympathizers" crowded the embassies of Mexico, Salvador, Argentina, Costa Rica, Chile, Brazil, Ecuador.

In Washington, Secy. Dulles praised the Armas government for its successful "housecleaning." Asked by a reporter whether he thought disfranchising 73% of the population "part of the necessary housecleaning," he avoided a direct answer, saying the housecleaning had been to rid Guatemala of what the Caracas conference defined as a Communist threat to hemisphere security. The U.S. formally rercognized Armas.

ARCHBISHOP SPEAKS: Reaction abroad to the U.S. intervention in Guatemala continued to be bitter. To the long list of popular anti-U.S. demonstrations throughout Latin America, F. Llerandi—in a letter to the **Nation** (7/10) from Venezuela, one of the most extreme dictatorships—added a few more significant items:

> "Signs of Viva Guatemala—Muera la United Fruit may be seen all over Caracas. At Sears Roebuck [which] caters mostly to the middle and upper classes . . . customers . . . have suddenly refused to buy American-made goods. . . . All unbiased information [from] Guatemala confirms the belief that the government was not subject to the orders of the local Communist party nor of Moscow.
>
> "The Archbishop of Mexico stated that he did not believe the insurrection was motivated by reaction to communism [and] that the communism which has infiltrated this continent does not represent a menace to the peace and sovereignty of the American nations. . . . The Guatemalan conflict comes as convincing proof that the [U.S.] Dept. of State has decided that 'democracy' is to be achieved with the aid of undemocratic governments."

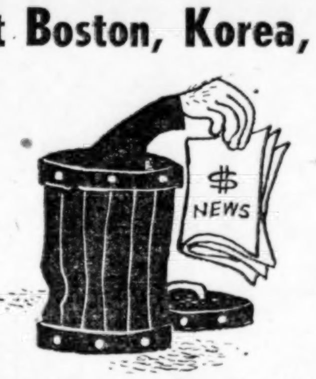


"FOR MERITORIOUS SERVICE"
Lt. Col. Armando Velesquez, army chief of staff of Honduras where the invasion of Guatemala was launched, gets a Legion of Merit from U.S. chief of staff Gen. Matthew Ridgway.

THE PRESS A story about Boston, Korea, and 'unslanted reporting'

THEODORE S. POLUMBAUM, a TV news writer in Boston, wrote "no" to the question "Have you ever been a Communist?" when applying for a job with United Press; he refused to answer the same question put to him in April, 1953, by the House Un-American Activities Committee. UP fired him—as it later told the American Newspaper Guild—because he had "intentionally created a doubt as to his honesty." On July 1, with the ANG appearing on his behalf, the case came before labor arbitrator George A. Spiegelberg. Spiegelberg ruled that although the charge made as a reason for the firing had not been proved, and Polumbaum had a "legal and proper right" to invoke Constitutional guarantees before the Un-AAC, UP would have had "just and sufficient cause" to fire a reporter deemed "biased" by its customers.

UP said flatly it would not reinstate Polumbaum; the ANG said it must do so, since although Spiegelberg had "included opinions which he himself holds are not properly includable" he had "specifically sustained the Guild" on the charges UP made.



"STRAIGHT REPORTING" WANTED: Detailing what he felt would have been just cause for firing Polumbaum, Spiegelberg said (as summarized by the N. Y. **Times**, 7/2).

- UP's customers must believe the news it sent out to be "straight reporting, unbiased and unslanted" for UP to operate successfully;
- A reporter taking "a determined stand on one side of a highly controversial question"—even though a correct one—as Polumbaum did, had "indicated" to the public and UP customers that the news he wrote "may be slanted by his strong views";
- "The fact that the customers of UP would or might believe that UP retained a biased reporter . . . even though that was not the fact" would justify UP in firing him;
- "To hold that UP must await a concrete instance of misinterpretation of the news before it can act is to compel it to experiment with a doubt when, and I believe with justice, it regards certainty as essential."

"WE KNOW THE FORMULA": In the same week that arbitrator Spiegelberg ruled UP must have "certainty" of "unslanted" reporters, the GUARDIAN received from Peking the new book **Plain Perfidy** by British reporters Alan Winnington and Wilfred Burchett—a chronicle of last year's stalling of Korea peace talks over the "no forcible repatriation of POW's" issue and the organized Rhee-Chiang-U. S. terror through which tens of thousands of N. Korean and Chinese POW's were retained. The book documents the role played in that "controversial question" by the U. S. press—especially by UP, whose "service messages" of instruction from headquarters to UP men in Japan and Korea the authors are able to quote. These were some of the "service messages":

- (When U. S. POW's were being returned and began telling of the good treatment they received.) "NEED ONLY LIMITED COVERAGE ON RETURNING POWS EXCEPT FOR TALES OF ATROCITIES AND SENSATIONS. PAYETTE."
- (When progress by liberation forces in Laos opened up a new gimmick for preventing peace in Korea by contrasting Chinese peace-talk concessions with Chinese "aggression.") "COULD TOKYO SPECULATE THAT LAOS MAY BE PURELY MAO TSE TUNGS INDEPENDENT ACTION TO GRAB SOUTHEAST ASIA BEFORE KREMLIN PEACE MOVES CRYSTALLIZE ENOUGH TO PREVENT IT AND SUCH LIKE QUERY. FISHER." (UP's men immediately obliged with these "speculations.")
- (When, after the "mass breakouts" of N. Korean POW's from S. Korean camps—i.e., Rhee's action in having the POW's driven out of the camps while U. S. officers looked on—UP reporters were building up the idea that "ROK troops would fight Indian troops sent to guard war prisoners" and the U. S. could not control Rhee.) "WE KNOW THE FORMULA NOW STOP LETS KEEP HER ROLLING. [Foreign Editor] NEWSOM."

On this and many other major occasions of cold-war propaganda, UP has shown how well it knows the formula for "straight unbiased, unslanted reporting" as required by its customers.

- The GUARDIAN is not and never has been a UP customer.

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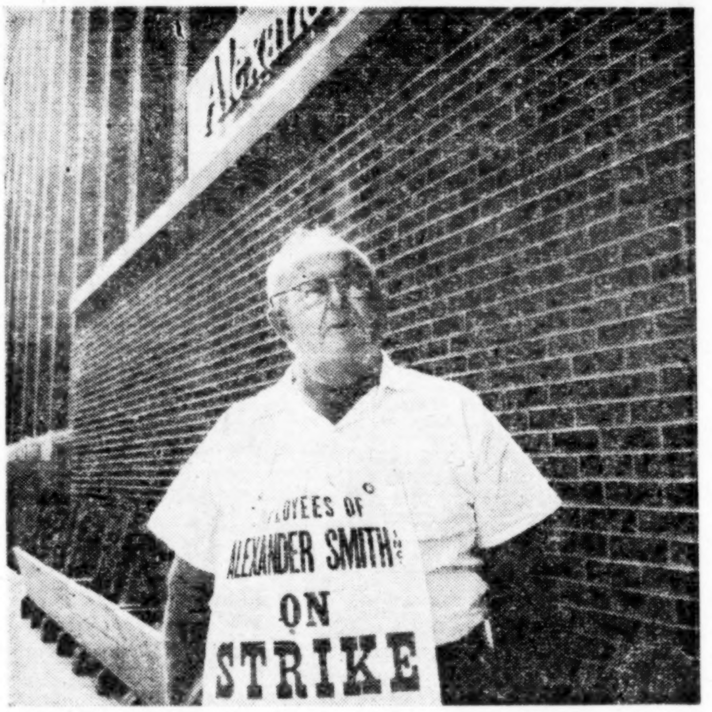
SMART SHOPPERS USE GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

NEW YORK

Workers face tragedy as huge Yonkers plant moves South



What happens to the economy of a city of 160,000 where a $175,000 weekly payroll is suddenly cut by $80-90,000? About $85,000 will be returned for about 26 weeks as unemployment insurance. After that, what? Yonkers Chamber of Commerce exec. secy. J. Thomas Murty said he, the mayor, the city manager and the state employment service, working with a citizens' committee, were trying to evolve "some kind of educational program"—to "retrain" such persons as this elderly man on the picket line, whose 20, 40 and 50 years of skills in carpet-making now mean nothing, "for whatever new industries may come in." Another committee is seeking new industries.

By Eugene Gordon

ALEXANDER SMITH, Inc., is bidding Yonkers goodbye and not just au revoir. Having for nearly 100 years straddled a half-mile stretch of austere Nepperhan Creek, the famous rug and carpet plant is skipping to Greenville, Miss., where magnolias grow and wages shrink. Rumors that the Mississippi deal may be off and that the mills have reopened—after a three-week strike—mean nothing more than that Smith employes are completing work they left when they went on strike.

The southbound flight of a textile plant making floor coverings is but a detail of the industry's general pattern of escape. Milwaukee's Phoenix Hosiery Co. is shifting knitting operations to the South. Textron, Inc., began closing its New Hampshire plants two years ago for relocation in a fabulous project in S. Carolina and Mississippi. American Woolen Co. since the end of World War II has threatened the Textile Workers Union (CIO) with the club of total removal South.

URGE FOR MAGNOLIAS: Love of old Dixie is not confined to makers of textiles. The Hat Corp. of America, charged by AFL pres. George Meany with deserting New England, retorted that its "respect for free enterprise" and affection for the Southland left it no choice but to "establish branches . . . in undeveloped areas" like Mississippi and S. Carolina. The Singer Sewing Machine Co. prefers small towns in N. and S. Carolina to the old home town of Elizabeth, N.J. Whether N.J. Singer workers do or not, they won't be taken South.

Union Biscuit Co.—making no textiles, not even chiffon cake—plunged from semi-southern St. Louis into the deeper South. In addition to the southbounders there are the closedowners and the mergerers who, in shutting up shop, or merging and staying put, affect the workers no less than do the runaways.

WAR SPLURGES: In Yonkers last week I was told by Textile Local 122 that Alexander Smith during World War II—as did competitors—temporarily quit making rugs and carpets to turn out goods for the armed services. Smith tried, by "relaxing its previous standards of quality," to hog the market at the war's end, but unable to compete with concerns which hadn't relaxed, it "gained the reputation of having the worst quality carpet in the business." A "high percentage" of the goods shipped out came back.

Gaining no wisdom from this experience—said union recording secy. John Hynes—"Smith at the outbreak of the Korean police action went on another splurge of over-production in anticipation of another world war, followed by scarcity of carpet and inflated profits for manufacturers of this product on hand." Smith "went into debt to acquire Sloane-Blabon Linoleum Co., which it managed to run in such a manner as to lose $10 million on its recent resale."

PAPER: Smith's Italian, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, and native white and black yarnblenders, dyers, carders, spinners, setters, threaders, weavers and passers paid $31 a share for blocks of Smith's $8 million stock issue "to modernize the Yonkers plant." That stock, then $20 par value, is worth today $8.50 a share.

The union's contract with Smith, "except for a few changes in content," has stood for 16 years. After two unsuccessful efforts, the company was permanently organized in 1937. Piece rates and hourly wages, except in a few isolated cases, have never been at issue.

A SHOW OF DECENCY: The union believes the company's demands in recent negotiations were a cover-up for something Smith had already begun and needed an excuse to finish with some show of decency. Hynes said the company presented a demand which would have meant "a completely rewritten contract with drastic changes in practices and procedures." Workers would have suffered "both increased workloads and loss of earnings." That demand, on June 15, caused the strike—that, and the company's insistence on a complete revision of piece rates and hourly wages. On June 24 Smith said it was moving to Mississippi.

N.Y. Times writer A. H. Raskin next day said the Benson & Hedges Tobacco Co. had bought four of the buildings in 1953 and "a dozen others were sold to a realty concern early this year." He said "the strike was only one of the factors that led to the directors' decision" to close at Yonkers.

ANTI-MAGNOLIA: Mrs. Margaret Campbell and her husband James, Negroes, were picketing a factory gate when I was there. He had worked there eight years. They couldn't say where they'd be tomorrow, when the GUARDIAN photographer came. "We've got five children," Campbell said, "and I've got to look for a job." He squinted at me, not smiling, when I asked whether he'd follow the plant to Mississippi if he could. "I done left down there. What would I want to go back for?" No, they had no savings "worth talking about." The union had 800 Negro members in Alexander Smith's during World War II.

What will the company find in Greenville that's better than in Yonkers? The N.Y. Times (4/4), in a 16-page special section paid for by Mississippi chambers of commerce, told why Northern industries love that particular area of Dixie:

"The old Magnolia State is rapidly proving her right to the new title 'Hospitality State' by the simple expedient of putting words into action through ballots for business . . . [Proponents of the plan a few years ago] first contacted a shirt manufacturer with a proposal that he locate a plant in their town. He agreed, provided they furnished him a building. The next step was the bank, where they signed notes sufficient to cover cost of construction. The plant went up, and thus was born the infant of Mississippi's present program of 'balancing agriculture with industry.' . . . Little more than 100,000 of her 2,000,000 citizens are employed in manufacturing, and farm mechanization is daily releasing a surplus of adaptable labor for work in industry . . . a native-born people who recognize the fact that America has prospered and will continue to prosper under free enterprise."

THE OLD GAME: Smith will profit from substituting Greenville's "native-born" lily-white production workers for Yonkers' native- and foreign-born white and Negro workers. But, I asked, did the Mississippi operator of two 12-foot-wide looms at $11.50 a day, while a Yonkers worker at one such loom earned about $18, connect this with the fact that jimcrow keeps the Greenville plant from being unionized and the Greenville worker $6.50 a day poorer?

Local 122 members doubted it. A union official agreed that so long as the South kept a reserve of Negro workers as a threat against white strikers for equality with the North, there'd be no union down there.

A. S. P. Workshop Photos

Striking Alexander Smith workers gather in the TWU Local 122 office for coffee and sandwiches after a turn on the picket line. A majority are middle-aged and elderly. Union exec. secy. Hynes said: "I have no personal interest in the reopening of the plant. What I saw from 1946 on convinced me there was no future in working for Smith. For the sake of the old hands who won't be able to get work elsewhere, I do hope that somewhere in the management a spark of decency will come to life, and fan into flame a feeling of pity for these people who have given their lives to the service of Smith, as did most of their parents and a great many of their grandparents."

1,462 HOMES vs. STUBBORN MR. MOSES

Bronxites stage mass campaign on Expressway

By Ione Kramer

ANYONE who has wanted to drive through the Bronx in a hurry agrees that a Cross Bronx Expressway is needed. But the question being fought out in the Bronx's Crotona Park area, where 1,462 families say their homes are unnecessarily threatened with demolition in the Expressway's path, is: What's worth more—the homes of 5,000 people or the "stubbornness" of N.Y. City's chief highway builder Robert Moses?

The disputed Expressway section, linking the George Washington and Whitestone bridges, is the E. 176th St. block between Third and Longfellow Avs., containing 90 dwellings, 60 of them substantial apartment houses. The Crotona Park Committee for an Alternate Highway says less than 200 families would be evicted if the route went three blocks south, through the edge of Crotona Park. Moses—whose job as Construction Co-Ordinator and Slum Clearance chairman is to get New Yorkers more houses, and as Parks Commissioner to get them more parks—insists that the grass stay, the 1,462-family buildings go.

ALTERNATIVE: Yet the tenants' alternate proposal would:

- Save the city $9 million which the original route would cost the city for buying land and buildings—according to Dr. Leonard A. Swarthe, engineering consultant and a director of the State Soc. of Professional Engineers;
- Take off the highway Public School 44 and the Tremont Health Center on which the city has spent millions, and which would not be used to capacity if 5,000 residents moved.

The 5,000 — Jewish, Irish, Italian, Puerto Rican, earning a living from small businesses or in the clothing and fur industries—face a 15% rent hike they can't afford if they have to move. They would have to compete for scarce-as-hen's teeth apartments with 56,000 other New Yorkers who will have been displaced by next spring for "slum clearance" and other construction. Realization of what this means has brought into action people who never had lobbied with City Hall.

(Continued on Page 11)

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

CELEBRATE 10TH ANNIVERSARY of the People's Republic of Poland. Premiere—Color Film Showing **"Adventure in Mariensztat"** also Polish News & Color short STANLEY THEATRE, nr. Times Sq. Fri., July 23, 8 p.m. Adm. $1.

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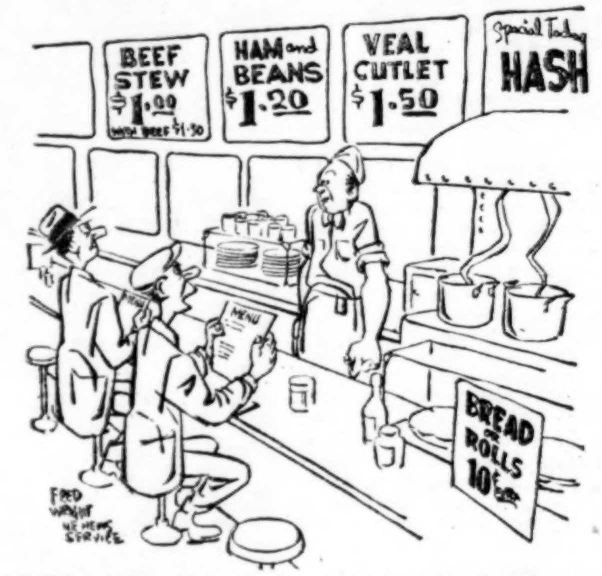

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Bouncing Barbara staged in Village

OFF-BROADWAY'S FIRST LADY, Karen Morley, is having a real lark for herself and a large, enjoyable cast in the Greenwich Mews Theatre revival of Shaw's **Major Barbara.** Barbara is a Salvation Army major in the London slums. Her morale heads for the sky when her father, head of the vast Undershaft munitions enterprises, after 20 years' estrangement visits her slum Shelter. It bounces off bottom when she sees the Shelter's need for £10,000 met by matching gifts from her warmaker father and a whisky distiller—both of whom agree with the Army's preaching of Salvation on high rather than on the barricades.

KAREN MORLEY

Shaw's ending will probably continue to cause arguments from here to Tophet, but his sallies and counter-sallies scintillate so en route that a good time for all is guaranteed at least three-fourths of the way. Undershaft has been played excellently by Edwin Gordon but he is now leaving to fulfill a Midwest engagement, leaving Undershaft for future performances to the irrepressible Lloyd Gough.

Major Barbara has no unmomentous characters but most momentous among the supporting players are Jack Sydow, as Barbara's crypto-agnostic Lieutenant and suitor, and James MacMahon as Bill Walker, West Ham Shelter's toughest customer. Performances are Wed. thru Sun. evenings at 8:30, at 141 W. 13th St., adjacent to the Village Presbyterian Church, which sponsors the theater.

—John T. McManus.

Donovan "McCarthy supporter and liar" — Marcantonio

Former Congressman Vito Marcantonio, who is running again in Nov. in New York's 18th CD, issued this statement July 6:

"My opponent, James G. Donovan, called me a 'liar' when I charged him with being an espouser of the McCarthy cause. Let us see who is the liar. Herewith is a copy of a letter which Donovan has been sending to several constituents. I omit the name of the constituent. This letter speaks for itself. It nails Donovan as a supporter of McCarthy and a liar."

Text of the letter signed by Donovan reads as follows:

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

6 May 1954

Dear ....:

Have your letter.

You say that I have been quiet on the controversy between McCarthy and the Army. Senator McCarthy is well able to take care of himself.

You may be assured, however, that I shall support every move to stamp out Reds in and out of our Government as long as I have the breath and power to do so.

Very truly yours,
James G. Donovan

N.Y. wins round against jimcrow

THE first legal victory in the fight against discrimination in private housing was achieved July 6, when the Brown-Isaacs law barring such discrimination here was extended to cover private apartments receiving Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration loans or mortgages. New York City is the first city in the country to enact this, the N. Y. State Committee on Discrimination in Housing said.

The law will apply to housing built after July 6 with federal mortgage insurance during the lifetime of that insurance; also to existing housing repaired or rehabilitated with such insurance. About 2,000 apartments presently under construction are covered by the law. Between 1946 and 1952, 85% of the apartments built in the city were insured by FHA.

ONLY N. Y. C. COVERED: Under the Brown-Isaacs law and the new Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs law, discrimination in renting covered houses is a misdemeanor, to be tried in Special Sessions Court. The person who feels he has been discriminated against in renting such an apartment may also sue the landlord. The State Comm. Against Discrimination in Housing suggested that the best way to put the law into effect was for Negro tenants to apply to live in apartments covered by the law.

The law was drafted by the American Jewish Congress for the State Committee. Since it covers only the area within N. Y. City limits—although a large percentage of government-insured homes around New York are built in the suburbs—many problems remain.

ALP urges Negro Atty. General

NOMINATION by all parties of a Negro candidate for the post of State Atty. General was urged in a unanimous resolution by the American Labor Party exec. board. The resolution said that "in this post, a Negro could best serve the interest of all people enforcing such laws as now exist against discrimination and segregation. He could make the greatest contribution in recommending necessary legislation to eliminate such practices in the many areas where they exist.

"The Supreme Court decision . . . ending school segregation . . . places a new responsibility upon all political parties to review the important question of political representation for the Negro people on a new level."

"THE IMBALANCE": Stressing that there are now no Negro State Supreme Court judges, ALP urged nomination of a Negro for that post. They offered these figures to indicate "the imbalance in our elected representative government":

150 Assemblymen, 5 Negro; 58 State Senators, 1; 43 Congressmen from N. Y., 1; 25 City Councilmen, 1.

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Bronxites

(Continued from Page 1)

ANGRY TENANTS: Today they are ringing doorbells, collecting signatures at street corners. Local merchants, many of whom would lose both home and business, get signatures in their shops. Neighborhood movie houses help with publicity on their screens. Delegations visit city officials.

Mrs. Lillian Edelstein, who "had never spoken before a crowd before," found herself speaking for the tenants before the Board of Estimate. And when Bronx Boro Pres. James J. Lyons voted against the tenants' proposal, after telling them he was for it, she found herself pointing a finger at him, declaring: "You double-crossed the people of the Bronx." A housewife and mother, Mrs. Edelstein shares daytime chairmanship duties with white-collar worker Miss Fannie Silverstein.

THE STUBBORN MAN: Joining the tenants' fight are the E. Tremont Merchants Assn., which fears loss of business; the Bronx Chamber of Commerce, Bronx House, and the E. Tremont Neighborhood Center, where the group meets. The Bronx Chapter of the State Soc. of Professional Engineers, many of whose members are city engineers, volunteered to draw up the alternate plan to meet highway specifications, approved it unanimously.

When Lyons urged Moses to consider the alternate as "practical and humane," Moses flatly rejected it as "putting kinks in his plans," and said city and state aid to the road would be withdrawn. Rep. Isadore Dollinger, supporting the tenants, says the fund aid would permit the change. (State Highway Commissioner Eugene Tallamy has approved route changes for the N.Y.S. Thruway to save 60 homes in W. Nyack, 116 in White Plains, 65 in Suffern.)

"I'm a stubborn man," said Moses.

THE STUDYING MAYOR: In 1953 the City Council unanimously memorialized the Board of Estimate to act on the alternative, but when Chief City Engineer R. G. McCullough reported to the Board on the highway, he ignored the tenants' proposal. Tenants charged he deliberately withheld information from the Board which voted 10-6 for the original plan—less than the ⅔ majority needed. Tenants—busloads of whom besieged last year's hearings—are keeping vigilant watch on the 1954-55 Board, which must vote it before January, when demolition contracts are to be issued.

A key three votes are those of Mayor Wagner, who as a candidate last fall said he would vote against funds to buy the homes for demolition. Tenants have bombarded him with 4,000 postcards, and in May sent a delegation. Moses' weakness, pointed out delegation member Rev. Sidney Menk, Bronx Protestant Council leader, was that "the people are not regarded." The Mayor said he would "study it."

"WE CAN SHOW THEM": They seem to be enjoying their excursion into government. "It was a real eyeful to go down to City Hall and watch the people we voted for give us the runaround," said Mrs. Sylvia Rosen. They showed their strength in last fall's elections: Judge Bertha Schwartz, who as city councilwoman had presented the group's plan to the Board of Estimate, ran ahead of the Democratic ticket, while Lyons ran behind.

Some members of the group have begun to apply their new-found know-how to other community campaigns. Co-chairlady Mrs. Edelstein told the GUARDIAN:

"There's no such thing now that you can't fight City Hall. Those who say so don't know their civic rights."

"We little people, we can show them," enthusiastically chimed in Mrs. Rosen.

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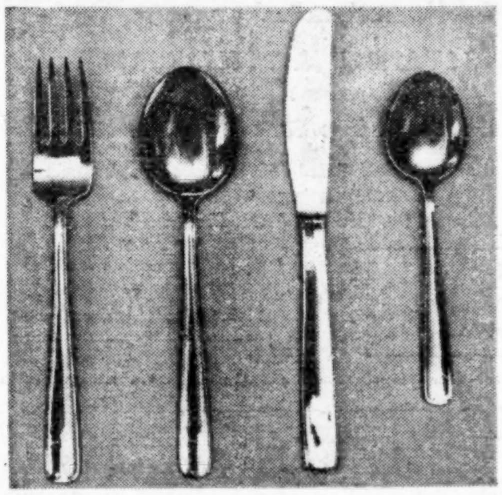
GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

A mail order service offering consumer-tested merchandise at a saving.



Money-Back Guarantee

Simple, modern stainless steel tableware.

24 pc. Service for Six $12.95 ppd.

32 pc. Service for Eight $16.95 ppd.

For a month we have been featuring the stainless steel tableware depicted above with extraordinary results. It has been our best selling item of the year. It is truly a remarkable bargain and we feel most readers will want a set for themselves and/or as a gift. However, we have received some letters indicating a hesitancy about buying without first seeing the set.

Because we feel confident that this set is such a good buy, we make this offer!

If after ordering the set you are dissatisfied with the design or construction or feel we have overstated our case, return the set within ten days and your MONEY WILL BE FULLY REFUNDED.

MIMAR FANS

Rated "Best" by Ind. Consumer Research Org.

Built for heavy duty. 4 pole, induction-type motor with shaft running in self-aligning and lubricating bronze bearing. Completely enclosed oscillating mechanism. Tilt adjustments. Colorful finish. Shipped express.

10" Model

List Price $18.45 ($19.45 in west)

GUARDIAN PRICE $13.95

12" Model with 3 Speeds

List Price $24.95 ($25.95 in west)

GUARDIAN PRICE: $18.75

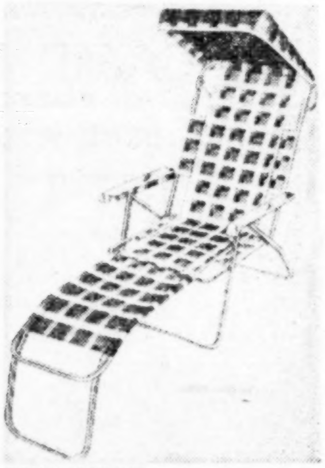
WOMAN'S HANDY, MULTI-PURPOSE CARRY-ALL BAG

You'll find many purposes for this handsome bag in summer travel. It is particularly convenient for mothers traveling with infants. It has a polyethylene divider so you can separate wet diapers. Its extra pockets enable you to carry all the extras that baby needs for travel. (It is not insulated).

As a beach bag, it has room for your suit, lotion, small towel, sun glasses, cigarettes, etc.

It is made of water-repellent duck with pockets of top sail cloth and rust-proof grummets. It comes in white with colored stripes.

At a leading New York department store this bag outsold others four to one .... **$3.50 ppd.**



SUN KING

5-Positional Aluminum Beach Chair in Colorful Saran

This sun chair is sturdily constructed, comfortable and easy to store and carry. It weighs only 8 lbs. and can be folded in one motion to 7x26x40 inches. Finger tip arm adjustment changes the chair to any of five positions while you sit in it. Weather-proof, highly polished aluminum tubing covered with colorful plaid saran reinforced with blending solid-color canvas. All stitching is with durable Orlon thread. Shipped express.

Regular Price — $25.95 ($26.50 w. of Miss.)

GUARDIAN PRICE $20.50

YACHT KING CHAIR

Featherweight Aluminum Sturdy Saran Seat

Designed for comfort wherever you use it. Yacht King is so light you can take it along on picnics, beach parties, etc. Side folds to 4½"x31"x19". Made of aluminum, 1" highly polished tubing. Colorful plaid SARAN fabric supports 300 lbs. Plastic tipped feet protect floors, resist tipping. Of all brands of aluminum furniture, we recommend Yacht King for durability and construction. Shipped Express.

List Price: $11.50-$12.50

GUARD. PRICE: $8.95

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE ORDER BLANK

Quantity	Size, Color, Description	Amount
	POSTAGE	
	TOTAL	

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Address ....

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(N. Y. C. buyers add 3% Sales Tax)

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Full payment must accompany all orders. Make checks, money orders payable to GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7

the SPECTATOR

A letter to France

(Excerpt from an article in Liberation, Paris, by Mr. Robeson "who until just after the second World War was the glory of all America, but now cannot leave the United States.")

By Paul Robeson

I HAVE not been in Paris since the first World Peace Congress, when all the peoples of the world, shoulder to shoulder against the fomenters of war, swore to impose their will of peace. I will never forget the marvelous warmth of your welcome, of your salute to my oppressed people here in America and to the masses of all colonized countries. And it is with love that I evoke the memories of my visit with you, especially in these hours when your firm insistence upon peace in Indo-China is one of the mightiest obstacles to Wall Street's plan to continue and extend this bloody war.

. . . I have referred to the "atomic alert" of the other Monday in New York, which the authorities told us was "a success" and said that exactly 2,175,000 New Yorkers had been theoretically killed during the 10-minute "attack." But side by side with that manifestation of war madness on the authorities' part, I saw with my eyes, that Wednesday, a remarkable manifestation for peace.

- On July 2 Paul Robeson made a new application to Washington for a passport, with copies of these contract offers: To play **Othello** in a new London production; to make a British concert tour for the Workers' Music Assn. Ltd., by personal invitation of R. Vaughn Williams, Rutland Boughton, Benjamin Britten and other top musicians; to make a concert tour of Israel for Adam Holender of the Theatre de Variete of Tel Aviv.

The picture shows Robeson in 1944, as he appeared in **Othello** in New York, at a Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee lunch in aid of "those who have escaped and are still carrying on the fight for a free Spain." Other speakers at the lunch were Moss Hart, Herman Shumlin, Raymond Massey, Margaret Webster and Lillian Hellman.

ON THAT DAY, here in New York, a tournament began between the best chess-players of the U.S. and a team coming from the Soviet Union. Although chess is not a popular game in the U.S., more than 1,000 spectators invaded the hall at the opening of the match and acclaimed the spokesmen for the teams, who expressed their ardent desire for peace and for cultural exchange between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

As I write the match is still in progress, but the final score is already known: CHECK AND CHECKMATE to Dulles and his State Dept. who banned this match last year, and victory to that other America which wanted the match to take place, and which knows that to lose while defending oneself at chess is infinitely better than to defend oneself "with success" in an air attack—which leaves two million dead!

This question of cultural exchange preoccupies American artists, many of whom, because of their progressive opinions, see themselves denied the right to practice their art in this country, or to go abroad.

YOU PERHAPS know that, because I spoke of peace in Paris and elsewhere, my passport was taken away when I came back to my country. And since then, as the song says, "the frontiers are my prison."

Concert halls, theaters, radio, television, movies are forbidden to me, but they have not succeeded in silencing my voice. I sing at workers' meetings, in Negro churches, at rallies for peace, and soon I will sing once more at the U.S.-Canadian frontier as I did last year, when the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers of the two countries assembled 40,000 people for an open-air concert.

Other artists, actors and writers, banished from Hollywood by McCarthyism, are finding new avenues to go to the people, on independent stages and in independent film productions.

I am continuing to fight to get my passport, and the many messages of sympathy sent to me by organizations and correspondents all over the world—especially in France—reassure me that my "right to travel" will be restored and that I will then accept the invitations sent to me to give concerts in many countries.

Then I will return with joy to France, in company with other progressive American artists; to that France of ardent heart which loved the songs of my people when I sang at the Pleyel in 1920; to that anti-fascist France which I knew during the Thirties and which later took the side of Republican Spain; to that heroic France which the Nazi jackboots could not crush and which Wall Street's dollars cannot buy.

Today, across these barriers which cannot really separate us, I salute you all, patriots of France, partisans of peace and liberty!